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placed on the outside of garden or hamlet-fences, to discourage hyenas, to keep livestock inside -- a natural barbed wire.

Eucalyptus tree ("bahĕr zaf") has become thoroughly rooted in Ethiopia. It is used in construction, especially of the more urban dwellings, as urban fuel, and its blue smoke and aroma is an early morning and evening feature of every town and market-town, where it is a major trade item. During the rainy season it grows so fast that a mature tree can be "harvested" 5 years after the nursling stage. Since it sells for $3-5 Ethiopian, (US $1-2) it is the most planted tree in Ethiopia today. The peasant also likes to use the odoriferous branches and leaves to cover the "dass" the festivity-shelter on marriages, etc., and the leafy branch as chera, flyswitch. Entire hillsides may be seen planted with this tree.

Female woods are also used for other indispensable products:

[386]

Ink - is made from the fruit of the "tämbälal" (Jasminum floribundum) tree, and its timer is used for the stock of the single-string violin, the masenqo. (But imported blue ink called "nil" is preferred by däbtära scribes.)

[534]

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Fibre - for basketry, roof-hoops, etc. is obtained from the "wärqĕ" (musa ensete) (also called "enset") at lower altitudes, used especially for cords. Rope "gämäd" is made from the bark cut

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283 from a living, corky, African Baobab (Adansonia digitata), called "demma". Rope is also made from a tropical creeper of lower altitudes, called
324 "arag", or of reed fibers. Thatching grass of excellent quality is obtained from a strong, tall reed called "fela" which resembles papyrus and
293 grows on the shore of lakes. The "gecha" reed grows on the shore of rivers and is used to make the famous sun-umbrellas owned by every rural housewife, though once the privilege of kings and nobles.

372 Fuel - Charcoal for firing pottery and smithing is made from the big "amfar" tree. Now also from the eucalyptus tree, but in rural areas the umbrella tree; "grar" is preferred because it does not have to be paid for.

● 384 Dyestuff - the bark of the "wayba" tree was used to make the yellow dye for the togas of monks, now only in the more remote, change-resisting monasteries (most others wear white).

222 Many other basic necessities for life and comfort are also obtained by collecting, by remembering where in the bush one has encountered the right kind or shape of plant, rather than planting and caring for it in gardens.

388 Soap - is obtained in rural areas from the crushed fruit of the "endod" bush (Sirounia Abyssinica).

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281 Tannin for tanning and curing hides - is obtained from the bark of the "beshesha" bush; from the

282 aforementioned foodbasket for travel (the "agelgel"). Drinking horns and cups of "great men" (feudal lords) and landholding Amhara peasants are sometimes similarly covered by ornamental skins.

282 492 The saddle, "korecha", is still an important product of the Faqi, after the carpenter-smith has prepared its wooden basis. It has a high front pummel of wood, and a high wooden backrest, both held together by the saddle-tree of two wooden planks at a wide angle to each other. This is covered by the Faqi with a very thick, strong, parchment-like cowskin, sewn carefully and tightly through holes drilled in the wood, and ornamented with line designs, often after dying the skin black with soot obtained from the "qänṭäṭef" creeper vine. [382]

Saddlemaking, like shield-making, caused much displacement of the Faqi during the long periods of warring chieftains and their armies. The great pride of an Amhara horseman was to have well-made and ornamented leather equipment for his horse, on its head, chest and back. Here the tanner often had to work in close cooperation with the smith. The iron ring of the stirrup (still in use); ornamental metal discs; the iron mouth pieces which resemble the Arab type and press tongue to mandible so that the horse reacts painfully to the slightest direction of the little finger, were common and still are in many districts. Gold or silver ornaments for the horse were important decorations for bravery given by the king especially to officers of high Amhara nobility. They are still honored as family heirlooms.

286 An experienced weaver can throw the shuttle as quickly as every 1/2 second, which would mean 120 picks a minute. It is a one-man operation, and the junior helper is employed primarily to carry the portable comb hand bobbins and make fastenings as indicated. An average, simple shamma takes about two days of work, but cases have been known when an experienced weaver in the prime of life, working uninterruptedly for 12 hours from sunrise to sunset, without rest and withour mishap, did it in one day, because of the pressure of an approaching marriage. The marriage months following the harvest are the busy season, ending at the approach of the light rains. Often a weaver takes 3 days for an average shamma, with long rests during the work day; a "kutta" toga may well take a week.

Weavers usually work by special order only and do not store any products for more advantageous sale, for the "season". They are craftsmen, not traders, particularly the Falashas, and they employ no middleman. Thus the transaction is on the interpersonal level. This is even true in the provincial towns. Only in Addis Ababa can a market section be found where traders store and sell readymade shammas, but nearly always they are of the muslin, cheesecloth-type variety, with a selection of colorfully embroidered, narrow borders.

286 386 439 Traditional dying is rarely of the cloth, but mostly of threads which are then used in embroidery. In the past many of these red and blue dyes were imported from the coast, from India, or colored threads

286 pulled from imported cloth. Now most of these dyes are
386 imported from Europe, and many are colorfast only in
[439] cold water (which causes little difficulty as most washing is in cold water). Such embroidery must be paid for extra, but the simple, narrow, single-colored border of the shamma, of the rural type, is included in the price.

286 For such a peasant shamma, the weaver receives
434 from Eth$5 to 8.- depending on whether or not the customer supplied all the prepared cotton. An average, experienced weaver can usually get enough orders to earn about Eth$200.- per year, in the rural area. If he does no farming other than gardening, his food cost may be Eth$140.- per annum. The average weaver is left with more cash than the farmer, who rarely has more than Eth$30.- left in cash at the end of the year. More often the weaver also farms, since his "season" does not conflict with the major active farming season. A hard-working weaver of solid reputation has the opportunity to accumulate comparative wealth, at least theoretically, but since most rural ethnic specialists, including the Falashas, are not much concerned with commercial profit, few do. It occurs more often among Muslim town weavers.

286 The social position of the weaver, apart from his
554 ethno-religious affiliation, gives him a high place among working specialists, almost equal to that of the musician (if it were not for the fact that the weaver is usually non-Coptic). He is above the status of a smith, and there is no suspicion of black magic attached to the

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

goatskin.

532 For it is in connection with the church institution that most of the limited Amhara decorative arts received their reason for tolerated existence and even encouragement. The most famous development of these arts are the Abyssinian Coptic churchpaintings. While writing and doodling and drawing is discouraged among the mass of church students because of the fear of misuse of black magic; skilled and supervised artists working within the framework of the church are freed from this suspicion by the sanctity of the church.

The skilled painter of church art, ("se'el sāli") may receive a commission for a specific painting from the priests or from a lay sponsor who may have himself or his deceased parents memorialized by ordering the artist to paint pictures of the sponsors into corners of the saint's painting, though in modestly smaller scale. Some artists have even painted themselves into a corner.

Most paintings are on canvas, in very vivid colors, and are affixed to the hard mud-and-wattle walls inside the church. Apprentices are drawn from upper students in church school, and first practice on silhouettes (footnote 100): Some of these incipient doodles can be seen on the whitewashed outer walls of some of the sturdier churches, e.g. at monasteries. They practice realistic drawings such as saints on horseback, daily life, games and animals, though their paintings will all be realistically portrayed religious scenes. Ink used is often made from the black fruit of the "tämbälal" tree (Jasminum floribundum), but dabtara scribes often use imported blue ink called "nil". A quill ("be'er") was traditionally used for writing and drawing.

[98]

Footnote 100 - Griaule, M.: Silhouettes et Graffiti Abyssins. Paris, 1935

795 Some dabtära have grown wealthy through mass-production of
756 amulets, in which they leave the name of the client free, to be
556 filled in on the market when sold. But this "waters down" his reputation.

b. The cosmology of demons treated by amulets

789 The amulets written by the dabtara are worn, usually on the "matab" neckcord, or around the waist especially of women. They are not read. To be effective they must bear the inscribed name of the wearer, though it is possible to have a dabtara erase the name and substitute another. Usually the amulet is written on varying qualities of parchment (from very thick to very fine), rolled tightly into a small leather case. The ink used is usually [384] made of soot, charcoal, iron powder and gallus. To emphasize an important name or matter, imported red ink is used.

Amulets also may contain drawn pictures, symbols and geometric design, some of a type that has been called "cabalistic". A fre- [776] quent picture is the scene depicting the killing of the female demon of miscarriage, "Werzelya", by Saint Susnecs, seated on a horse using a lance (much like European scenes of St. George killing the dragon). This demon is sometimes depicted as a female [567] of the negroid (Barya) tribe, from which the Amhara used to capture slaves. The legend that accompanies this scene is as follows:

773 A Christian martyr, named Susneyos, had married and his child
789 had been killed by the female demon Werzelya. Thereupon he prayed to Jesus and received special power to slay the murderess. St. Susneyos mounted his horse, took his spear and rode away to the desert (evidently the Nilotic lowland below the northwestern escarpment), where the demon was hiding with others of her kind.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[MANZ]

29 / *The Legacy of Manz and Gondar*

The history and customs of Manz are more obviously related to its geography than is the case with Gondar. The encircling wall of mountains has been a source of isolation and protection, two factors of great moment in the history of the area. Peculiar eating and clothing habits have developed in response to a climate which, owing to the altitude of Manz and its position at the edge of an escarpment that leads down to a desert of the Rift Valley, is one of the coldest in Ethiopia. The temperature often approaches the freezing point, and in the colder months (October and November) standing in the sunshine at high noon is no defense against a shrill wind that pierces the bones.

Barley is the only crop that thrives in the highest parts of Manz, though wheat, beans, peas, and chick-peas grow in the slightly lower altitudes. But *tĕff*, the grain preferred by Abyssinians for the preparation of their staple food —a kind of pancake known as *ĭnjarā*—cannot be cultivated at those heights, so the Manzē typically eats *ĭnjarā* made of barley.

Sheep are a major item in the Manz economy. The average farm has a herd of 100 to 150 sheep, which provide a heavy wool as well as the Manzē's favorite meat. This wool is used to make the *bānnā*, a warm blanket which is wrapped around the body and constitutes the standard dress of the Manzē. The *bānnā* distinguishes him from other Abyssinians, who wear a white cotton toga called *shammā*. Wealthier men wear the *barnos*, a tailored cape made of dark wool. Manzē wool is also used for the weaving of rugs which ornament the homes of the well-to-do.

No dyes are used in working their wool, so a crowd of Manzēs in natural-colored *bānnā* seen at a distance resembles a flock of their sheep. This is one of the touches contributing to the impressive aesthetic unity of the Manz landscape. The effect is also produced by the fact that the Manzē's house is built of stone, the same stone that is seen everywhere on the terrain; and its conical roof is made of thatch, which makes the roof look like the piles of grain in the fields. The churches are also built of stone with thatched conical roofs. Everything one sees in Manz bespeaks a harmony with the natural environment.

The cold climate of Manz is invigorating. It prevents food from spoiling quickly and discourages diseases which flourish in lower altitudes. The Manzē boasts that his climate keeps people healthy and gives them long lives, and indeed it is not uncommon to find men sprightly in their eighties and nineties. But only the hardy survive, for life there is as rugged as the land, and the people—like their landscape—are stony, bleak, and full of dark recesses.

Manz does not occupy so conspicuous a place in Ethiopian history as Gondar. Indeed, most books on Ethiopia do not even mention the area. While